3:Naah/E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
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[P.457-B] Teklum

682 epidemic (two cases), when people have drunk
[755] a great deal and their motive is fresh in their
[273] mind.

The settings in which homicides occur indi-
682 cate that a killer is expressing not his own
152 bravery but rather his fears. Wounds are fre-
• 154 quently inflicted from the rear, and often the
[273] victim is outnumbered and set upon by a group. The victim is sometimes invited to drink with his killer(s), and in this session he is disarmed psychologically and physically. Alcohol reduces the chance of his effective reaction, and this is important when a knife or machete is used. Shotgun killings are done at a distance and do not require this tactic, although it may still be employed. For drinking
682 serves to reduce the killer's own fears. Drink
213 "heats the blood" and makes unusual be-
152 havior possible. One killer, in recounting his act, was not trying to prove bravery, but rather his own good judgment and cool-headedness. The killer fired at the victim while he was sleeping, his back turned to the door, and killed him. The shot also entered the arm of the
[695] sleeping man's wife. She saw the killer as he
[683] left the scene, but testified in court that she had seen no one. She was, in effect, accepting his verdict that her husband was a witch.[4] This homicide was not regarded by the killer or by anyone else as a heroic act, nor was the killer in recounting it attempting to emphasize anything other than the necessity of the act.

682 411 *Instrumentality: Weapons and Wounds*

gun	14
machete	6
gun and machete	4
knife	3
knife and gun	1
knife and machete	1
knife and stone	1
hatchet	1
nail	1
sandals	1
??	4

The variety of weapons reduces the question of any technological determinism to a minimum. The actual weapon used seems to be a matter of convenience. When more than one is used, it is usually evidence that the assailant had helpers. The nail is unusual. It was hammered into the jaws of a man who had entered the curing profession at an age considered too
682 young. The attack on the jaws of the victim
774 seems related to the power of speech and to the
756 [text continues on p. 461-B]

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they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.

The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic disputes than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his predecessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often required to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayoheles, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably always been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases described seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the curers about their status.

The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In Tzo?ontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

Curing Behavior

In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred to as *?u?ul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatin*. Despite the declining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

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794 796 *guests. They borrowed benches from neighbors; they cut juniper and prepared the resting place for the sacred banner; they borrowed seed-gourd rattles and two tables, and they adorned the house with pine branches and fruit. In the afternoon, all the relatives, the compadres, and the neighbors were invited. Two alisiles were appointed (this term is probably a Tzeltal rendition of* alguacil, *in Spanish an office corresponding to high bailiff or peace officer). The alisiles were charged with watching to see that neither the new alférez nor either of his two guitarists got too drunk to carry out his functions.*

794 796 535 562 *The two alisiles called out the women to dance, first asking permission of the woman speaker. The dance was the most important act in the set of performances on the third day, which was sometimes referred to as the "afternoon of the big dance." The dance was a highly charged event because the women were for the first time cast in a public role. Fear and* [626] [154] *shame, the two conditioning mechanisms of socialization in Tzo?ontahal, had to be overcome when the women became involved in the dance. Special precautions were taken: the alisil formally requested the woman speaker to take the women out:*

[539] *Lord, women who nursed us, give pardon with God, the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon mother and father with God and with the Virgin Mother. We have gathered here, collected together your child, your offspring, where it is not very pretty, not very flavorful, at the door of your holy poverty, holy suffering, for the holy office, the holy prayer. Again our clay, our mud comes to speak here to the mothers who nursed, who give us fear and embarrassment.*

Then the alfereces took off their hats and kerchiefs and brought them to the women. This act was described by an informant: "The women cover their heads with the kerchief and put on the hat. The girls want the handkerchief and the hat of their husbands in order not to be ashamed to be seen by a boy. They want the kerchief to hide their faces. If they do not want the hat, it is when they are mature women and do not have shame. The wives of the alfereces do not have shame because it is their job." The use of the kerchief which was draped over their head, partially covering

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towns and explain small-scale change over short periods of time. The contextual description of behavioral details may eventually overcome the lack of replicable events available to laboratory science. By specifying all the conditions of the ritual, it is possible to separate the unique from the patterned components. At one level, the analysis consists in indicating the repetitive patterns and the continuity of beliefs which these exemplify. At another level, rituals can be analyzed as psychodramas in which the individual adopts a social role. The dialectical connection between the new official and his role is established in the obligations he carries out.

When people are asked "why" something is done, they continually shift between the social and psychological levels. "We do this because it was the custom of our ancestors," they will frequently say. When pressed further, they reduce their level of response to the individual, saying, "The women don their husband's ceremonial hat because they wish to hide their face because of embarrassment." Both answers are true interpretations, differing only in the level of social complexity at which the enquiry is directed. One can go farther in elaborating the latent significance of the ritual acts. To continue with the same example, the dance drawing the wife into a public performance was performed because, as one informant said, "she too has done work for the fiesta" (she made pottery to raise the money). The dance gains the favor of the saints, as is demonstrated in the Virgin's tactics with the Devil, and in the curing rituals with the spirits of the house and of the springs. Dancing establishes a relationship to the group: the women dancing in the center of the circle formed by their husbands revolving around them are incorporated as an integral part of a sacred social unit.

Rituals provide a key to the psychic dynamics of the group since they deal with these explicitly. The ritual acts are predicated on expected individual responses. For example, since liquor overcomes embarrassment,[5] it

5. Bennett and Zingg (1937) have stated the even more dramatic social significance of liquor among the Tarahumara. Social intercourse in this mountain tribe is impossible without liquor. Conditioned as they are in isolated nuclear family groups to retreat at the sign of an outsider, the Tarahumara need something to relax their embarrassment and fear in large gatherings. Landa (Tozzer 1941) has commented at length on the compulsory drinking at ceremonials of the Yucatecan Maya.

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796 154 [273] [276] [522] is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrassment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of cigarettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal restraints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

541 522 177 178 *Carnival and Easter Week*. Carnival has changed over time more than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas. They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good looking, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 262 794 177 178 [731] Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobraria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

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576 support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person conversing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so
[535] it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assembled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

621 Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official
182 roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—principles applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzo'ontahal has remained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the
[682] same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide
[578] rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic sources of disruption.

682 Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average
593 of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the
609 role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring
428 between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) oc-
578 curred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime. Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competitors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within
[888] the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the decisions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The
682 suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts.
683 Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition,
[154] they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the
[626] family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the community and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

1/1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)